

Message Text

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PAGE 01 SOFIA 01608 110723Z

17

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-11 L-03

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USIA-15 IO-14 SAJ-01 NIC-01 SAM-01 AID-20 EB-11 EA-11

COME-00 LAB-06 SIL-01 ACDA-19 OMB-01 NEA-14 SCCT-02

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P R 101655Z SEP 74 ZFD
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INFO AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
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AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
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AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

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E.O. 11652: NA

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, PGOV, BU, UR, XH

SUBJECT: ANALYSIS OF ZHIVKOV'S SEPTEMBER 8 SPEECH

REF: SOFIA 1607

1. SUMMARY: ZHIVKOV'S SEPTEMBER 9 SPEECH WAS CAST IN A HISTORICAL MOLD AND DEALT PRIMARILY WITH THE EVOLUTION OF COMMUNISM IN BULGARIA. HOWEVER THERE WERE SEVERAL INTERESTING ELEMENTS: TREATMENT OF USSR; ATTITUDE TOWARD CYPRUS, GREECE AND TURKEY; RELATIONS WITH YUGOSLAVIA AND ALBANIA, TREATMENT OF CHINESE QUESTION; AND REVERSION TO THE USE OF COEXISTENCE RATHER THAN DETENTE. END SUMMARY.

2. ALTHOUGH THE SPEECH IS REplete WITH LAVISH PRAISE OF THE
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PAGE 02 SOFIA 01608 110723Z

SOVIET UNION, ZHIVKOV DID NOT REPEAT THE EXTRAVAGANT LANGUAGE HE

USED DURING BREZHNEV VISIT LAST SEPTEMBER WHEN HE SPOKE OF THE SOVIET UNION AND BULGARIA HAVING THE SAME CIRCULATORY SYSTEM, SAME LUNGS, ETC. HIS TOTAL REMARK WITH REGARD TO INTEGRATION WAS TO SAY THAT THE TWO PARTIES ARE FOLLOWING A COURSE OF ALL-ROUND COOPERATION AND EVER CLOSER UNITY. THIS SCALING-DOWN OF LANGUAGE MAY HAVE BEEN AT THE REQUEST OF THE SOVIETS WHO WERE PREVIOUSLY EMBARRASSED BY SUCH SLAVISH LANGUAGE AND SEE NO ADVANTAGE IN CREATING FEARS THAT BULGARIA MAY BECOME A REPUBLIC OF THE SOVIET UNION.

3. ZHIVKOV CONFIRMED BOTH BULGARIAN POLICY TOWARD CYPRUS, AND ITS ATTITUDE TOWARD GREECE AND TURKEY. ON CYPRUS, BULGARIA INSISTS THAT ITS SOVEREIGNTY AND INDEPENDENCE BE RESPECTED. AS FOR GREECE AND TURKEY, THERE IS NO CRITICISM, ONLY THE "SINCERE WISH" THAT THESE NEIGHBORS SHOULD LIVE IN PEACE AND UNDERSTANDING WITH EACH OTHER AND WITH INDEPENDENT CYPRUS. THIS HAS BEEN BULGARIA'S POSITION SINCE CHANGE OF GREEK GOVERNMENT. IT HAS DONE NOTHING, AT LEAST OPENLY, TO CREATE ADDITIONAL PROBLEMS FOR EITHER GREECE OR TURKEY.

4. ALTHOUGH ZHIVKOV CLAIMED BULGARIA IS MAKING CONSTANT EFFORTS TOWARD IMPROVING RELATIONS WITH YUGOSLAVIA AND THAT THERE HAS BEEN SUCCESS IN THIS REGARD, HE IMPLIED THAT THE SITUATION IS FAR FROM HAPPY. HIS REMARKS IN THIS REGARD AND EARLIER WHEN HE EQUATED BULGARIAN PARTISAN EFFORTS WITH THOSE OF YUGOSLAVIA AND RUSSIA DO NOT SEEM LIKELY TO CONTRIBUTE TO ANY IMMEDIATE IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONS. ALSO HIS REMARK ABOUT SEEKING IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH ALBANIA MAY HAVE BACKFIRED SINCE IT WAS IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWED BY HIS COMMENT ON THE CHINESE SITUATION AND THE ALBANIAN AMBASSADOR JOINED THE CHINESE IN WALKING OUT.

5. WHY ON SUCH A FESTIVE OCCASION, ZHIVKOV HAD TO COME ON SO STRONG AGAINST THE CHINESE CAN ONLY BE SURMISED AT. PERHAPS IT WAS IN ORDER THAT BULGARIA COULD STAND IN GLARING CONTRAST TO THE ROMANIANS WHO IN THEIR CLEVER WAY HAD MANAGED TO HANDLE THE PRESENCE OF BOTH A SOVIET AND CHINESE DIGNITARY AND HAD "DISLOYALLY" PLACED THEM ON THE SAME PLANE.

6. ZHIVKOV WHO SO OFTEN IN SPEECHES HAS USED THE WORD DETENTE AND SUPPORTED THE IDEA SOUNDLY DID NOT ONCE EVOKE THE WORD LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 03 SOFIA 01608 110723Z

DURING HIS SPEECH ON SEPTEMBER 8. INSTEAD HE SPOKE OF COEXISTENCE AND "MUTUALLY ADVANTAGEOUS COOPERATION WITH THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES". WE ARE IN NO POSITION TO SAY WHETHER THERE IS ANY SIGNIFICANCE TO AVOIDANCE OF THE WORD DETENTE, BUT IT MAY BE WORTHWHILE TO SEE IF THIS IS DUPLICATED IN OTHER SPEECHES OF COMMUNIST LEADERS.
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